

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY SANTO DOMINGO

S E C R E T STATE 097598

STADIS//////////

EXDIS FOR AMBASSADOR HURWITCH

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM PORT AU PRINCE DATED APRIL 21, 1976

SENT SECSTATE WASHDC IS REPEATED TO YOU: QUOTE

S E C R E T PORT AU PRINCE 1019

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PINR PINS HA

SUBJ: PLAN OF HAITIAN ANTI-GOH PLOTTING

REF: STATE 047701, STATE 095859, STATE 95858 AND PREVIOUS

1. FOLLOWING ARE MY COMMENTS ON REFTELS, AND
RECOMMENDATIONS.

2. I CONSIDER THE REPORT PALUSIBLE, GIVEN THE IMPLACABLE HATREDS
SPAWNED BY FRANCOIS DUVALIER'S MACABRE REPRESSIONS AND THE
REGIME'S INABILITY OR DISINCLINATION TO WIN OVER THE RING-
LEADERS OF THE OPPOSITION OR OTHERWISE TO REDEEM THE PAST
IN THE EYES OF ITS ENEMIES.

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3. I AM EQUALLY IMPRESSED WITH THE DEGREE OF WHICH THE REPORTED PLAN DEPENDS ON MULTIPLE, INTERLOCKING BETRAYALS AND NAIVE EXPECTATIONS, E.G., BY LAHENS, OF SUPPORT FROM HAITIANS TO WHOM HE HAS BEEN AN EMIGRE FOR YEARS. EMIGRE PSYCHOLOGY IS SELDOM REALISTIC, THOUGH IT CAN BE -- AND IN THIS CASE EVIDENTLY IS -- FANATIC. IT IS HARD TO SEE ANYTHING BUT REVERSION TO TYPICAL HAITIAN POLITICAL CHAOS SHOULD THIS PLOT SUCCEED, NOT NECESSARILY THE WORST CONDITION, BUT ONE COMPELLING REASSESSMENT OF HOW BEST TO PROTECT OUR INTERESTS.

4. THE LITMUS TEST OF ANY AUTHORITATIVE REGIME'S SURVIVABILITY, WHEN THREATENED BY THOSE DEDICATED TO ITS OVERTHROW, IS ITS ABILITY TO FORESEE EVENTS REALISTICALLY, AND GUAGE ITS INTEREST RATIONALLY, AND TAKE EFFECTIVE STEPS IN SELF-DEFENSE. NO OUTSIDE GOVERNMENT - OURS OR ANY OTHERS -- WHICH MIGHT COME INTO POSSESSION OF INFORMATION SUCH AS THAT BEING REPORTED CAN DO FOR THE OBJECT OF THE PLANNED ATTACK WHAT IT WILL NOT OR CANNOT DO FOR ITSELF. AT THE SAME TIME, TO WITHHOLD THE ESSENTIALS OF INFORMATION VITAL TO THAT REGIME'S EXISTENCE WOULD IN EFFECT ALLY US WITH THE REBEL CAUSE, A POSTURE WHICH IF TAKEN SHOULD ONLY BE TAKEN IN COLD CALCULATION OF ALL THE OPTIONS. WE HAVE MADE NO SUCH DETERMINATION -- E.G., THAT OUR INTERESTS WOULD BE BETTER SERVED THAN THEY ARE NOW BY A NON-DUVALIERIST REGIME IN HAITIOF UNCERTAIN COMPOSITION AND UNDEFINED AIMS.

5. AT THE SAME TIME, I AM WELL AWARE THAT THIS REGIME HAS MADE INSUFFICIENT BASIC PROGRESS IN COMMITTING RESOURCES TO BASIC SOCIAL NEEDS LONG NEGLECTED, AND THAT THE GRAFT AND CORRUPTION

REMAIN TOLERATED WITHIN THE DUVALIER FAMILY AND ITS ENTOURAGE TO THE POINT OF NOW PROVOKING UNREST AMONG CERTAIN MILITARY OFFICERS.

SICLAIT, LONG DETESTED FOR

HIS AVARICE AND CUNNING , HAS IN THE VIEW OF MANY OBSERVERS, STRENGTHENED HIS POSITION WITH THE LATEST CABINET RESHUFFLE, AND PUBLIC WORKS MINISTER PETIT'S DISMISSAL IS BELIEVED TO HAVE STEMMED FROM HIS PRINCIPLED OBDURACY, SPECIFICALLY HIS REFUSAL TO GO ALONG WITH A KICKBACK SCHEME INVOLVING THE NEW WORLD BANK FINANCED THERMAL POWER

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PLANT. THE PETIT OUSTER HAS COME AS A PROFOUND DISAPPOINTMENT TO MANY WHO HAD CONSIDERED THE PRESIDENT FIRM IN HIS PURSUIT OF REFORM AND HONEST ADMINISTRATION. BLANCHET, AMONG OTHERS, IS SAID TO HAVE SIDED WITH PETIT. NOW, IT SEEMS, THE SICLAIT-MADAME SIMONE DUVALIER-LUC DESIR ALLIANCE IS IN THE ASCENDANCY, AND PEOPLE QUESTION MORE THAN EVER WHO IS CAPTAIN OF THE SHIP. CERTAIN MILITARY OFFICERS, WHO REGARD SICLAIT AS AN ABOMINATION TO THE ORIGINAL DUVALIERIST CAUSE,

WILL EXPECT HIS VENGEANCE, AND MAY BE EXPECTED TO MOVE
PREEMPTIVLY. COL. NAMPHY, G-4,
IS ONE SUCH OFFICER MENTIONED. ANTONIO ANDRE IS REPORTED
TO BE APPALLED BY PRESIDENTIAL ASPIRATIONS TO BE "A MANLEY
OR A CASTRO".

6. FURTUNATELY, OUR AID PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN CONSISTENTLY
AIMED AT THE RURAL POOR AND WE HAVE SUCCESSFULLY IDENTIFIED
OUR OBJECTIVES WITH THE RURAL POOREST RATHER THAN WITH THE EXISTENT
GOVERNMENT AS SUCH. DDIVERSION HAS NOT TAKEN PLACE, CONTROLS OVER
DIRECT LOAN AND GRANT PROJECTS ARE CONSIDERED SATISFACTORY.

7. CONCLUSIONS/RECOMMENDATIONS.
I THEREFORE CONCUR IN RECOMMENDATION THAT I ALERT DUVALIER, AS
BEFORE, TO GIST OF THIS LATEST REPORT, NAMING NO RPT NO
SPECIFICS. I ALSO RECOMMEND THAT I SHOULD COUPLE THIS WARNING
WITH THE OBSERVATION THAT, SUBSTANTIAL AS THE DEVELOPMENTAL AND
PLITICAL EVOLUTION HAS BEEN SINCE 1971, ENORMOUS AND
URGENT BASIC CHALLENGES REMAIN IF THE HAITIAN PEOPLE IS TO BE
LIFTED FROM ITS MISERY. ANY HAITIAN GOVERNMENT THAT FAILS TO
DEMONSTRATE A SERIOUS WILL TO OVERCOME THOSE CHALLENGES CANNOT
EXPECT IMMUNITY FROM OUTSIDE EFFORTS TO REPLACE IT WITH SOMETHING
THAT IS BELIEVED WILL BE MORE RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF THE HAITIAN
PEOPLE. THE BEST SAFEGUARDSAGAINST ANY SUCH
EFFORTS, THEREFORE WILL BE A
SEARCHING, OBJECTIVE AND DETERMINED EFFORT TO MOBILIZE ALL RESOURCES
COHERENTLY TOWARD THE FUNDAMENTAL GOALS OF HAITI'S ECONOMIC
AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, ONLY SUCH A COMM-
ITMENT CAN PERSUADE ENEMIES OF THE PRESENT REGIME THAT THEY
HAVE NOTHING BETTER TO OFFER.

8. ACTION REQUESTED: DEPARTMENT'S
CONCURRENCE IN MY TAKING LINE OUTLINED
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IN FOREGOING PARAGRAPH.
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